

TODAY'S WEATHER FORECAST - PARIS: Very cloudy. Temp. 39-50 (4-11). Tomorrow: cloudy, bright periods. Yesterday's temp. 38-50 (4-9). LONDON: Bright periods. Temp. 45-50 (7-14). Tomorrow: misty early, sunny later. Yesterday's temp. 45-50 (7-14). CHICAGO: Moderate. ROYAL: Sunny. Temp. 45-50 (10-17). NEW YORK: Cloudy. Temp. 45-50 (7-12). Yesterday's temp. 43-50 (7-21). ADDITIONAL WEATHER - PAGE 2.

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PARIS, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1972

Established 1887

Food Dole Halted To Force People To Flee Managua

MANAGUA, Dec. 25.—Government officials said today that 300,000 of the 225,000 inhabitants of Managua have fled their earthquake-shattered city, leaving behind the ruins of their homes and the bodies of many of their kinsmen.

An international rescue operation was under way to aid persons still huddled in the wreckage of the city.

The government today cut off food supplies to force survivors to leave the city. Officials feared decaying bodies buried under the rubble would lead to an epidemic.

"If we give them food, they will stay," said Jorge Crojuc of the Mexican Red Cross. "It is against our mission to not give them food and care, but the government has ordered this."

Mr. Crojuc said food and aid stations were being established in safe areas outside the city to aid the thousands of hungry, homeless and injured.

"We have an airplane hangar full of food and medical supplies, so aid will not stop," he said. "Meanwhile, we must provoke the people so they will leave."

Water Shortage

The earthquakes destroyed the city water supply and the shortage of potable water endangers the lives of many thousands.

A doctor said, "We have sufficient supplies of plasma, blood and drugs but we need large amounts of distilled drinking water."

The government has ordered all bottled water and soft drinks distributed free to the people. But the supply is small and dwindling and cannot meet the needs of the hospitals that have been set up in parks and other places.

Mr. Dreves's statement was issued this morning. A spokesman said this afternoon that Mr. Truman's condition "is unimproved. He remains in a deep coma caused by arteriosclerosis."

Doctors went to the 89-year-old former President's bedside about 8:30 a.m. when his temperature jumped to 104 degrees Fahrenheit, the highest it has been since he was admitted to the hospital on Dec. 5, Mr. Dreves said.

Bess Truman, 87-year-old wife of the 33d President, was also at his bedside.

Discomfort Isn't Great

At 9 a.m., doctors said Mr. Truman's blood pressure remained erratic and his pulse rate continued to fluctuate over 100. He was being given oxygen, and not suffering extreme discomfort, Mr. Dreves said.

It was the third time since he was hospitalized that Mr. Truman has lapsed into a critical condition, but he has rallied twice.

He slipped into a coma early Saturday and has been on the critical list since then. Doctors said the strain on Mr. Truman's heart, lungs and kidneys has been "extraordinary."

For some time, Mr. Truman's kidneys have been less than 10 percent effective. He has been receiving a special liquid diet designed to restore normal kidney function and combat blood toxicity.

Mr. Truman was listed in fair condition, suffering from lung congestion and bronchitis, when he entered the hospital. His condition quickly deteriorated, however, as cardiac and kidney complications occurred.

Mr. Dreves said he did not know when Margaret Truman Daniel, the former President's daughter, would return to New York City from her home in New York.

Mrs. Daniel, wife of The New York Times associate editor Clifton Daniel, spent 13 days here at the outset of her father's illness.

Comedian Visited Air Base

Bob Hope Accused of Insults To Thailand; U.S. Apologizes

BANGKOK, Dec. 25 (AP).—U.S. Ambassador Leonard Unger has apologized to the Thai people for jokes made by comedian Bob Hope which two Thai newspapers say insulted Thailand.

The criticisms by the morning Siam daily and the Barn Muang were the first attacks on the veteran comedian in the Thai press in the eight years he has visited Thailand to entertain U.S. ser-

U.S. Military Club Bombed in Berlin

BERLIN, Dec. 25 (AP).—An explosive device blew out windows and a door at a U.S. Army sergeant's club in West Berlin last night, police reported today.

An Army spokesman said that no one was injured and that the establishment, called the "Club Fift," was closed at the time for the holiday. It faces the U.S. Army headquarters in Berlin.

Police said that an explosive device of unidentified nature was placed at a door.

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VICTIM—Injured boy being given a drink by medic Sunday afternoon at Managua airport.



UPENDED—Monument to a former Nicaraguan President, Luis Somoza, father of the current ruler, Gen. Anastasio Somoza, in Managua after it was toppled by the earthquake.

No One Killed In Ulster Over 3-Day Truce

BELFAST, Dec. 25 (AP).—A three-day Christmas truce in Northern Ireland drew to a close tonight with no deaths, injuries or property damage reported.

The 72-hour halt to "offensive operations" called by militants of the Irish Republican Army was ending at midnight, with the prospect of a renewal of the slaughter that has claimed at least 678 lives in the last three years.

Protestant gunmen apparently decided to honor the truce too.

The final day of the truce was marked by a few shooting incidents that seemed more like private attacks than part of the continuing battle to oust the British and unite Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland.

One shot was fired at a woman in her backyard at Strabane, south of Londonderry; two shots were fired at a Roman Catholic vigilante patrol in West Belfast, and four shots were aimed at a house in North Belfast. None of the shots found a target. These three attacks were the only ones reported up to tonight.

In a statement of apology, Mr. Unger said:

"Bob Hope is a friend of Thailand and he is like the Thai people. He may not be familiar with Thai customs but I am sure he would not purposely say anything to insult the Thai people."

Siam took Mr. Hope to task for implying that Thai kick-boxing is a ruthless sport and that only the fighter with tricks could win.

The Barn Muang said Mr. Hope's joking remarks on Thai monasteries were an insult to the Buddhist religion.

Barn Muang quoted Mr. Hope as saying, "I took off my shoes to visit a wat (temple) and when I came out there were two Thai families hidden in my pair of shoes. They refused to come out."

The paper also accused Mr. Hope of insulting Buddhist monks when he allegedly said that the Thais are fond of shaving their heads.

The Eastward traffic began Saturday. There have been no backlogs at border checkpoints.

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World Watches on Satellite TV

Christmas Day in Bethlehem Is Quiet, Cold and Secure

BETHLEHEM, Dec. 25 (Reuters).—Christmas Day dawned bright but cold and windy in this little hilltop town where Roman Catholic clergy kept a vigil in the underground Grotto of the Manger, reputed birthplace of Jesus Christ.

Bells rang out from the basilica-like Greek Orthodox church which stands over the grotto, across the Judean Hills where shepherds still tend flocks of sheep and goats as they did in the time of Christ.

Manger Square, in front of the church, was quiet after the bustle of the Christmas Eve celebrations. Most of the pilgrims and visitors who came to the town yesterday—estimated at up to 14,000—had left to tour other parts of the country.

Authorities said the numbers of pilgrims seemed lower than in previous years, with people apparently put off by 41-degree daytime weather, the coldest Christmas here in 14 years.

The climax of the celebrations came at midnight when the Latin patriarch—the ranking Roman Catholic prelate in the Holy Land—celebrated solemn high mass in the Church of St. Catherine before a packed congregation of pilgrims.

Those at the service were, for the first time, joined in Christian fellowship with people around the globe by a television satellite link-up. Outside the church, hundreds watched on closed-circuit television.

This is the sixth Christmas celebrated in Bethlehem since the town was taken from Jordan by Israel in the 1967 six-day war, and the authorities maintained tight security last night against the possibility of Palestinian guerrilla activity. No terrorist incidents were reported, and security was relaxed today.

This is only the first of three Christmas celebrations to be held in Bethlehem. The Greek Orthodox begin their celebrations on Jan. 6 and the Armenian Church will hold its rites 12 days later.

Several embassies have been hit in Hanoi and ships in Haiphong harbor have been damaged, radio reports asserted. There have been protests from several countries, including China and Russia.

Mr. Nixon also has been under some pressure to ease up on the bombing because of a record number of American losses in a week—18 planes and as many as 70 airmen, according to official reports. Radio Hanoi claims almost three times as many U.S. planes have been shot down.

Senior U.S. officials speculated that Mr. Nixon is considering a number of options, not excluding a resumption of the bombing at any time. He could extend the bombing session indefinitely, reduce the intensity of the strikes or cut them back below the 20th parallel as before the latest, end-lesser of the peace talks, they said.

The bombing halt has gone more than 24 hours now, said one senior U.S. official. "Right at the moment there's nothing going on. There is nothing moving. There is no indication when it will start again."

The bombing halt apparently is being extended hour by hour while Mr. Nixon seeks to obtain a response from Hanoi, the sources said.

"I would think our government would try to play this as long as it can," one said. "I would think they are telling the North Vietnamese we'll knock this off if they will sit down and talk seriously."

The U.S. command refused comment.

In Key Biscayne, Fla., the Florida White House refused to confirm or deny the bombing halt extension. "We are not going to have any comment from here on operations in Vietnam," a spokesman said.

The Saigon command reported, meanwhile, that South Vietnamese forces resumed combat operations at dusk today after the end of the 24-hour cease-fire proclaimed by the government.

Hanoi Response Awaited? U.S. Bombing Pause Extended Into 2d Day

SAIGON, Dec. 25 (AP).—The United States extended a bombing halt throughout North Vietnam beyond 24 hours while President Nixon reportedly sought to resume the deadlocked private peace talks with Hanoi.

U.S. sources confirming the extension, said they did not know how long it would last and cautioned that the bombing could be resumed at any hour. But late tonight they said no orders had been issued for air attacks against the North.

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U.S. military sources confirmed that targets hit by U.S. bombers in the raids beginning last Monday included Radio Hanoi, Gia Lam airport, which serves Hanoi and nearby railroad yards.

Airport Damage

Diplomatic sources said earlier that Gia Lam airport had sustained heavy damage, including cratering of runways and destruction of its air-control facilities. Radio Hanoi has been operating at sharply limited capacity since Tuesday, apparently as a result of the bomb damage. However, at the same time it has become a primary source of detail about the U.S. raids because of a Nixon administration order withholding nearly all details on bombing missions, targets and bomb damage reports.

Mr. Nixon has come under sharp criticism, domestically and in international circles, for ordering a resumption of bombing above the 20th parallel in unprecedented intensity since Dec. 18.

North Vietnam contends that there has been massive destruction in the Hanoi and Haiphong areas, including deaths of thousands of civilians killed and wounded and U.S. prisoners of war also wounded by the American bombs.

Several embassies have been hit in Hanoi and ships in Haiphong harbor have been damaged, radio reports asserted. There have been protests from several countries, including China and Russia.

Mr. Nixon also has been under some pressure to ease up on the bombing because of a record number of American losses in a week—18 planes and as many as 70 airmen, according to official reports. Radio Hanoi claims almost three times as many U.S. planes have been shot down.

Senior U.S. officials speculated that Mr. Nixon is considering a number of options, not excluding a resumption of the bombing at any time. He could extend the bombing session indefinitely, reduce the intensity of the strikes or cut them back below the 20th parallel as before the latest, end-lesser of the peace talks, they said.

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Protests in Other Cities Polish Primate Asks Bishops In U.S. to Speak Against War

WARSAW, Dec. 25 (Reuters).—Stefan Cardinal Wysynski, Roman Catholic primate of Poland, today urged the American Catholic hierarchy to make efforts to end the "unjust war" in Vietnam.

Cardinal Wysynski was speaking from the altar of Warsaw's St. John's Cathedral, which was packed with more than 2,000 persons attending high mass.

In sending Christmas greetings to John Cardinal Krol, head of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States, Cardinal Wysynski said: "I wish the hope that the American episcopate, understanding the wishes of the Holy Father, will make efforts to insure that the blood of innocent children and brethren is not shed further in Vietnam."

The cardinal recalled that Poles fought in the U.S. war of independence, adding: "You could also fight today for the freedom of all people and nations, and especially those who are now suffering the consequences of an unjust war and harm inflicted without any apparent reason."

Cardinal Krol, chairman of the American Episcopal Conference, conferred with Cardinal Wysynski during a five-day visit to Poland in October.

Cardinal Krol Friday deplored the escalation of U.S. bombing of North Vietnam.

In Washington, anti-war protesters began a candlelight vigil outside the White House last night, the first event in two days of demonstrations against the renewed bombing of North Vietnam.

About 30 members of the Washington Peace Center and a Quaker group that has been protesting since the bombing of North Vietnam.

Stefan Cardinal Wysynski

Pope, in Christmas Message, Regrets War and Suffering

VATICAN CITY, Dec. 25 (UPI).—Pope Paul VI returned from a simple Christmas celebration among tunnel builders today to celebrate mass under the dome of St. Peter's Basilica.

In his Christmas message at noon, the Pontiff said that his thoughts were with those people and lands where "there is still war, hunger, suffering and distress—wherever the coming of justice and peace is still awaited."

He did not specifically mention Vietnam in his speech, although he has repeatedly referred to the situation there in recent statements.

The Pope gave Christmas greetings in 18 languages, including Polish, Hungarian, Czechoslovak and Romanian—as an apparent gesture of friendship for East European countries with which the Vatican is seeking closer contacts—and in Russian, Chinese and Vietnamese. The vast crowd in St. Peter's Square applauded warmly when he mentioned Vietnam.

A considerably smaller crowd heard the Pope celebrate midnight mass at the tunnel project

at Sant'Oreste, about 30 kilometers north of Rome.

During his half-hour visit, the 75-year-old Pontiff put on a white head hat and descended nearly three kilometers along the uncompleted tunnel between Rome and Florence.

He was greeted by the tunnel foreman, Armando Geronzi, a Sicilian, who made a short speech of welcome.

"We don't know how to pray well," Mr. Geronzi said. "We remember God only in difficult circumstances and in moments of sadness. But tonight we are able to ask the Christ Child to protect and give long life to our common father, the Pope, who on this memorable night has come among us."

"Friends," the Pope told the bearded workers, only 200 of whom were admitted to the tunnel because of shortage of air, "you are praiseworthy, courageous, excellent."

"I have come to bless you and your work and to seek Christ among you, that Christ whom I unworthily represent. He was born in a stall, perhaps in a cave, which was not much better than one of yours."

The Pope and Mr. Geronzi embraced, and the stocky construction foreman escorted the Pontiff past excavation machinery to the tunnel face where a rustic manger scene had been set up.

After saying the tunnel, the Pontiff celebrated midnight mass under the stars for the construction workers, their families who had come from all parts of Italy and villages who live nearby.

The town of Sant'Oreste, high on the mountain overlooking the tunnel, is a small, glittering town with stone and brick buildings. The Pope said mass on a simple altar set up in a huge movable shed used for laying cement.

At the Vatican today, the Pope said that Christmas brings Jesus near to all men including "those who wish he were dead or forgotten" and those who "wish to be able to replace him and create a new religion without his light and without his love."

The Pontiff said that Christmas "reminds the ordinary world of man, who is usually destined for death. It awakens man, and prompts him to be doing..."



Pope Paul VI, in construction hat, in railroad tunnel where he celebrated Christmas mass.

UPD 1252

19 to Face Court-Martial

Navy Is Said to Crack Down On Dissident Black Sailors

By Earl Caldwell

SAN DIEGO, Dec. 25 (UPI)—While attention has focused on investigations into racial incidents, the Navy in recent weeks has quietly begun a crackdown on dissident black sailors.

Official sources have denied the existence of any crackdown, but evidence to the contrary has been mounting since the carrier Kitty Hawk returned here from Southeast Asia late last month.

The Navy's racial problem drew wide attention in mid-August, when it was disclosed that black and white crewmen had engaged for more than five hours in a bloody riot aboard the carrier as it was headed for the Vietnam war zone.

In that brawl 21 crewmen—all of them black—were arrested and are now being held in the brig in San Diego.

The Navy has ordered that none of the accused blacks be released on bail, although it has announced that 19 will face special and not general court-martial. Under the Uniform Code of Military Justice the most serious of

fenses are decided in general court-martial.

The Navy has issued a series of administrative orders that appear to be aimed primarily at black crewmen. These orders, among other things, make it illegal for Navy men to give the clenched fist salute or to greet one another with a special handshake that is often referred to as "the dap," a more involved version of a black handshake widely used among civilians.

The Navy has also moved to discharge a number of the blacks involved in shipboard racial disputes. In addition to the incident on the Kitty Hawk, there was a demonstration by blacks on the carrier Constellation, which ended with the ship's captain returning the vessel to port and putting the dissidents ashore. There were about 125 sailors involved in that incident, and sources say that at least half of them have now been given less than honorable discharges.

Other evidence of the crackdown came earlier this month when it was announced that a Kitty Hawk sailor, believed to have been photographed delivering a black-power salute as the ship entered port Nov. 23, was fined, reduced in rank and ordered into custody.

Were Duncarees

Officially the sailor, Willie Faison, 24, was convicted in a capital case proceeding for violation of a lawful order. The Navy said it was alleged that he wore duncarees when the ship's plan of the day called for "a proper blue uniform" in areas visible to the public, and that he was in a restricted, dangerous radar area.

New pictures taken when the carrier entered port showed Capt. Marland Townsend, commander of the Kitty Hawk, and behind him in a near silhouette against a radar dish were several sailors with fists raised. The Navy said that sailor Faison was not tried on any charge relating to a salute.

He was convicted and ordered to forfeit half a month's pay for two months, reduced from E-3 to E-2 pay grade and placed in 30 days' correctional custody.

Some sources close to the situation said the Navy's recent actions were not aimed so much at black sailors as they were designed to show that the racial friction that has cropped up recently was not the result of any permissiveness. Charges to that effect "upset the Navy terribly," informed sources said.

The charges came from older Navy officers who had earlier been accused of not enforcing discipline to eliminate racial discrimination.

The recent investigation into the racial incidents—one conducted by a three-man subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee—has ended, but the committee's report is not expected until early next year.

In the meantime, preliminary hearings began Friday to determine whether general court-martial should be brought against the two sailors arrested for rioting aboard the Kitty Hawk, but not yet charged.

Lawyers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People intend to go into the federal courts if necessary to obtain the freedom of the 21 black sailors who are charged with rioting. First, however, they announced that they would exhaust any appeals with the military judiciary.

Chief Justice Burger Defends Lobbying as Part of His Duties

WASHINGTON, Dec. 25 (AP)—

U.S. Chief Justice Warren E. Burger says he considers it part of his job to let Congress know what kind of legislation he thinks would be good for the country.

Two former chief justices, William Howard Taft and Charles Evans Hughes, did the same sort of thing. Chief Justice Burger wrote in a newsletter distributed recently to all federal judges.

"My own concept of how this informational responsibility should most appropriately be carried out is far more restrained than was

the case with Chief Justice Taft," Chief Justice Burger said.

"As the biographies of Taft show, he personally testified before congressional committees, and frequently he testified with senators and congressmen in the Capitol, in their offices or in their homes to urge his views on them."

"I intend to continue to stimulate interaction with members of the judiciary to develop consensus on what our needs are and to see that Congress and the public are informed on the problems of the courts."

The chief justice said a "totally false" news report that the judiciary was engaged in lobbying against pending legislation moved him to "put some perspectives on the larger question of relations between judiciary and the courts."

Federal laws require the Administrative Office of the federal courts, the Federal Judicial Center, and the chief justice to submit recommendations to Congress, Chief Justice Burger said.

In the last two decades the Administrative Office has proposed "400 bills," he added.

"Statutes, historic tradition and the logic of the situation require the federal judiciary, through its established organizations, to work constantly for improved methods of providing justice and to advise the public and the other branches of government so that intelligent action can be taken," Chief Justice Burger wrote.

"This takes nothing away from the legislative prerogatives of Congress but simply supplies its members with information they need and generally want."

"Indeed, the chief complaint I hear from members of Congress is that they do not have enough information as to our needs and problems."



CAT NAP—What one takes after Christmas dinner.

'Earn It There, Spend It Here'

Polish-Americans Find Life In Old Country Has Its Points

By James Feron

WARSAW, Dec. 25 (UPI)—Polish-Americans who return here to settle have a saying: "Earn it there, spend it here." It rhymes in Polish, and for an increasing number of these people, it makes sense.

Each year a few hundred members of the large but amorphous "Polonia" community in the United States resettle in their homeland, attracted by a favorable rate of exchange and, to a lesser degree, by an improved political climate.

This form of immigration is not unique to Poland. Tens of thousands of Italian-Americans have returned to their villages, for example, and there are also sizable communities of those who have returned to Greece and other places.

The Polish people who have returned, some 5,000 in all, are unique, however, because they are re-entering what many had come to regard as hostile Communist territory. But the attraction of living comparatively well on what could barely suffice in the United States has proved to be a powerful attraction.

Take Stanley Miller, born 65 years ago in Sierce ("a real hole, you wouldn't believe it"), about 65 miles north of Warsaw. He left with his parents at the age of 2, was raised in Detroit and worked for most of his life in Hamtramck, a Polish industrial suburb of Detroit.

Ten years and sardonic, he came back to Poland two years ago after having retired at 62 from Hamtramck's Public Works Commission. "The reason I look so good," he says, "is I've been in politics all my life—I've been a bit of a politician."

What is it like, he was asked, living in a Communist society after six decades in the United States? "I tell the Poles I like Poland. I like the system and don't give a damn about Marx or Lenin."

Mr. Miller listed economics and health care as his main motivations for returning to Poland. "But there's also the crime situation in the States. It's all right if you live in one of those walled cities, but in the cities everybody has to be home before dark so they don't get mugged."

"I haven't been stopped once in Poland. There is a cop on every corner and many of them are in plain clothes, so the criminals are afraid to stop you."

U.S. Helps Laos Open an Addict Treatment Center

VIENTIANE, Dec. 25 (UPI)—

As part of a recently initiated campaign by the United States and Laotian governments to crack down on narcotics traffic in and through Laos, the Laotian premier, Prince Souvanna Phouma, and U.S. Ambassador Godley, the U.S. ambassador have opened a new addict detoxification center here.

But sources involved in the enforcement of a year-old anti-narcotics law said that the illicit Laotian opium crop, which is to be harvested in February, is likely to be a large one. Despite successes in interdicting the flow of opium and heroin from Laos to the U.S. market, the sources added, smugglers are finding new routes.

Among the new channels apparently being employed, a source said, is the use of combat and transport planes of the Royal Lao Air Force in flying narcotics from Luang Prabang and other airfields to neighboring countries.

Most of the illicit raw opium from Southeast Asia probably comes from Burma and Northern Thailand, and Laos is a transshipment area for smugglers sending drugs through Thailand to Singapore, Hong Kong and other ports.

Laos is believed to grow from 10 to 30 tons of opium each year. Approximately 20 pounds of opium are used to manufacture one pound of heroin.

They're very strict here. The States can afford to have armies all over the world, but can't put a cop on every corner."

Mr. Miller gets 66 zlotys to the dollar, which is three times the official rate and almost double the rate for tourists. He receives \$18.50 a month in Social Security and \$200 in Michigan state retirement funds.

"You can get along on \$100 a month here. If you spend \$200 you can live like a king," he said. The \$200 Mr. Miller spends is less than his monthly income, but it represents three times a skilled worker's wage.

Mr. Miller apparently has other funds which he keeps in a bank in the United States. He uses this money for trips out of Poland.

"You have to learn how to get along in Poland," he said. "There are shortages, but if you have money and you know where to go, you can get the best real or ham. I slip the girl at the box office an extra hundred and give the waitress 10 zlotys for a glass of tea—five for the tea and five for her."

"The pace of life is also slower here. You don't have a waiter standing at your back, sticking a finger in your coffee to see if you're finished."

As a Polish resident, Mr. Miller can participate in Polish Orbis (travel agency) tours and has been to Egypt for 20,000 zlotys.

He will go to Miami in January for three months. Most Polish-Americans keep the bulk of their savings in the States, drawing only what they need. Usually they retain American citizenship.

Mr. Miller lives in a small but typical apartment—one room, kitchen and bath—in the center of Warsaw. Built by the Polish authorities for hard (Western) currency, it cost \$2,300 and has a 1,500-zloty annual maintenance charge.

Many returning Poles go back to their village in the mountainous south, choosing to live with relatives. Some discover life here is more rugged than they had remembered and return after a year or so. Many never really became integrated in the States, however, so coming to Poland is really coming home, even after many years.

The Polish government has indicated that it may alter the civil code to enable returnees to buy land or earn a living as craftsmen. "Many of those coming—about 200 a year now—are in the lowest Social Security categories in the States. They can't stretch it there and can do quite well here—but they like to keep working anyway, as tailors or shoemakers, for example," a government official said.

Many Polish-Americans hesitate to take a chance. One said that "if it's only the peasants—the bread-eating emigrants—or their children who are coming back, those of political vintage, who left after the war, worry about their status."

For the most part, they are treated well here. Those who want to live in Warsaw can do so, while most Poles seeking to move to the capital are barred. The returnees have access to the "dollar" apartments. They are treated differently by Poles who, in any case, have long felt that "what is foreign is best."

Address by Queen Juliana.

THE HAGUE, Dec. 25 (Reuters)—Queen Juliana, in her traditional radio address to the nation, today said indifference and crude self-interest "has resulted in our planet being abused and polluted."

She continued: "We are trying to create a wider family of nations and it is particularly at Christmas that this family should feel closer together."

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Mundt Ending Long Career In Congress

Stroke Led Senator To Face Retirement

WASHINGTON, Dec. 25 (AP)—

A 34-year career in Congress is drawing to a close for Karl E. Mundt, the Republican senator from South Dakota who gave President Nixon an early boost up the political ladder.

Sen. Mundt, 72, suffered a stroke in November, 1968. He has not been in the Senate chamber since, although the paralysis he suffered has been partially overcome. Friends reported that the senator still has difficulty speaking.

His wife, Mary, said they haven't yet made up their minds whether to remain in the capital or return to South Dakota. She indicated, however, that they would remain in Washington for the time being.

"He can't go into cold climates," she said.

All of Sen. Mundt's papers accumulated during his years in the House and Senate are being sent to the Karl E. Mundt Library at Dakota State College in Madison, S.D. Sen. Mundt taught speech there in the 1930s. The library was dedicated by President Nixon in June, 1969.

Sen. Mundt was first elected to the House in 1938 and to the Senate 10 years later.

Throughout much of Sen. Mundt's congressional career, he insisted that he would return to the Senate, where he was third among Republicans in seniority.

Although urged to resign in 1970 by South Dakota Republicans, he refused. Gov. Frank L. Farrow, a Republican, wanted to appoint a successor before Gov. Farrow left office to be followed by a Democrat, Richard F. Kneip.

In February, in an unprecedented move, Senate Republicans voted to strip Sen. Mundt of his position on three key Senate committees: Appropriations, Foreign Relations and Government Operations.

Sen. Mundt was not a candidate for re-election this year and his seat was won by Rep. James Abourezk, a Democrat who defeated Republican Robert W. Hirsch.

Sen. Mundt is attended around-the-clock by nurses. He works out in the Senate gym and undergoes many hours of speech therapy.

Sen. Mundt was acting chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities during his 1948 hearing on the Alger Hiss case. Mr. Nixon, who was then a congressman from California and a member of the committee, rode the case to national fame.

Hiss was a former State Department official who was convicted of perjury for swearing under oath that he did not pass secret information to Communist agents.

Mr. Nixon and Sen. Mundt did not see the congressional investigation work in the case. Sen. Mundt, however, let most of the attention center on the young Nixon.

Queen Elizabeth Stresses Ties to Commonwealth

LONDON, Dec. 25 (Reuters)—

Queen Elizabeth said in her annual Christmas message today that Britain's ties with Commonwealth members will not be lost when it enters the European Common Market on Jan. 1.

"The new links cannot alter our historical and personal attachments with the Commonwealth," she said. "Old friends will not be lost—Britain will take her Commonwealth links into Europe with her."

The queen said that Britain and the other Commonwealth countries see in the community a new opportunity for the future.

"They believe that the things they have in common are more important than the things which divide them, and that if they work together, not only they but the whole world will benefit."

She continued: "We are trying to create a wider family of nations and it is particularly at Christmas that this family should feel closer together."

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Chravarti Rajagopalachari with President Kennedy in Washington in 1962 when the Indian sought 'end to A-tests'.

Obituaries

Chravarti Rajagopalachari, Veteran Indian Politician, 94

MADRAS, India, Dec. 25 (AP)—

Chravarti Rajagopalachari, 94, former governor general of India and the grand old man of Indian politics, died today.

Rajaji, as he was known throughout the country, served as governor general from 1948-50, after Lord Louis Mountbatten retired as the constitutional head of state and returned to England.

Rajaji later broke with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and founded his own political party in 1958 at age 79. His party, known as Swatantra (freedom), stood for more free enterprise and less state control than permitted by Mr. Nehru's ruling Congress party.

Until shortly before his death, Rajaji wrote weekly columns for his party's journal.

He was a witty and dispassionate rebel in Indian politics, who rose high but renounced much in the name of principle.

Like many eminent Indians, he received his baptism in politics in the anti-British independence movement, led by Mohandas K. Gandhi. He joined Gandhi in 1919 and was jailed five times as he rose to a position of influence in the Congress party.

In 1942, when the British were fighting both a war abroad and the Congress party in India, Rajaji broke with Gandhi and Nehru. He claimed that the Congress was taking unfair advantage of the British predicament.

When talks began with the British in 1944 on the transfer of power, Gandhi invited Rajaji back into the party. He returned, but only to take another controversial position.

While the Congress leaders staunchly opposed the Muslim League's demand for the creation of a separate Islamic state—Pakistan—Rajaji favored the division of India.

"When two brothers cannot agree on everything, the best thing is to divide the paternal property and learn to live as brothers do, in separate but adjacent homes," he said.

He also was the only Indian leader to criticize Nehru for ordering the invasion of the Portuguese enclave of Goa in 1961.

Ronald Ngala

NAIROBI, Dec. 25 (AP)—Ronald Ngala, 50, who led Kenya's coalition government in the early 1960s, before independence from Britain, died here today. He had been hospitalized.

2 Earth Tremors in Italy

ANCONA, Italy, Dec. 25 (AP)—Two earth tremors jolted parts of central Italy today. No damage or casualties were reported.

One tremor had its epicenter near this Adriatic town, and measured 4 on the 12-point Mercalli scale. The other, measuring 5 on the scale, struck the Perugia area.

U.S. Army's 1972 Christmas Motto: Always Look a Gift in the Mouth

MUNICH, Dec. 25 (UPI)—Once, this would have been a proper Christmas tale about the spirit of giving. But this is 1972.

A few days ago, a U.S. Army spokesman said, a German whose identity may never be known tossed a party wrapped in brown paper over a brick wall, wrapped in barbed wire.

His troops as the package, the size of two shoe boxes, thumped into a car wash rack. It could be a bomb, they thought. It could be drugs. It could be poison.

A military policeman carried the box to an open area and cautiously unwrapped it. Nothing happened.

Army intelligence men rummaged through the contents. No drugs.

Laboratory experts applied their tests. No poison.

The contents, the Army concluded, were just what they seemed to be—German Christmas cookies, coffee cake, orange drink mix and other sweets, all packed with a pillow. They were destroyed, the Army said.

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U.S. Scientist Downgrades Kelp as Food

Says Algae From Sea Are Not a Panacea

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 25 (AP)—

Although it improves the head on a modern glass of beer, seaweed will not, says the world biologist who tends California's offshore kelp beds.

"It doesn't look like algae is going to be a significant source of nutrition," said Dr. Wheeler A. North of the California Institute of Technology.

Asked in an interview about the popular notion that future generations will eat seaweed for breakfast, lunch and dinner, Dr. North said: "I think the excitement was a little premature."

Kelp, the only variety of seaweed harvested in great quantity by American consumers, contains some essential minerals, he said. But it is low in protein and the carbohydrates are generally indigestible by human beings.

Japanese Taste

Although the Japanese cultivate and consume a great deal of algae, he said, this is more for cultural reasons—they like the taste—than nutritional factors.

However, the seaweed industry continues to be important and last year more than 150,000 tons were harvested off California.

About 90 percent of the nation's crop comes from the California coast.

From the processed kelp comes alginate, a substance widely used to stabilize liquid mixtures. Brewers add it to beer to reduce the head. Ice cream and salad dressing, as well as paint and rubber, are manufactured with it.

Algae also is used in the processing of paper and certain textiles and is an important component of dental impression compounds.

The enthusiasm of a few years ago about the potential of algae as a food resulted partly from "political" efforts to obtain money for marine research, Dr. North claimed.

"We suffered from that," he said. "People sat down and took a good hard look at algae and began to realize it wasn't going to compete with large terrestrial sources of food. Now funding agencies and the public are a little disillusioned."

Because the kelp beds provide a habitat and source of food for many kinds of fish and shellfish, marine biologists as well as fishing interests are concerned about their preservation.

Dr. North has spent the last 15 years studying and restoring the California kelp beds.

Curfew Lifted In Philippines For Christmas

MANILA, Dec. 25 (Reuters)—

Hundreds of thousands of Filipinos crowded Manila's streets until dawn today to enjoy the first curfew-free night since martial law was imposed in September.

Traditionally, Filipino families wait to midnight mass and then slough home to a sumptuous meal. However, thousands stayed in the streets until sunrise after President Ferdinand Marcos's announcement yesterday that there would be no curfew from midnight to 4 a.m.

More than 200 persons detained under martial-law regulations were released last night, military sources said today.

A group of 213 detainees, including four members of Congress, three mayors and a police captain, were released, military spokesmen said.

The government now has released 2,122 of 3,381 persons taken into custody since martial law was imposed.

Norway Plane Toll Is 40

OSLO, Dec. 25 (Reuters)—A woman survivor from the plane crash near here

Eroding the First Amendment

It would be comforting to be able to believe that all is truly well that ends well, but unfortunately, that is not always the case. This lesson was brought forcefully home the other day by the resolution of the dispute between the Los Angeles Times and Judge John J. Sirica in the preliminary trial to the Watergate burglary trial. Although the Times bureau chief didn't have to spend Christmas in jail, Judge Sirica's orders before the issue was resolved gave dark intimations of the mischief wrought by the Supreme Court's decision in the Earl Caldwell case last term.

First, it will be useful to run lightly over the circumstances of the Times' problems with Judge Sirica. Two of the newspaper's reporters had obtained an interview with Alfred C. Baldwin 3d, a prospective government witness in the burglary trial, with an understanding that they would make no disclosures other than those approved by Mr. Baldwin. After conducting the interview and permitting him to review the story, the paper printed it.

Subsequently, lawyers for the defendants asked Judge Sirica to subpoena the tapes and other material from the interview in hopes they would contain material which could be used to discredit Mr. Baldwin's testimony at the trial. The judge issued the subpoena although the Times had argued that its confidential agreement with Mr. Baldwin was protected by the First Amendment guarantee of press freedom. When the Times refused to honor the subpoena, its Washington bureau chief was immediately jailed for contempt of court. He was subsequently released pending appeal. Then, pursuant to a suggestion by a Court of Appeals judge, Mr. Baldwin agreed to release the Times from its pledge and the materials were turned over to Judge Sirica. The contempt proceedings then became moot.

After it was all over, Ronald Ostrow, one of the Times' reporters said, "I don't think it's any bell ringing day for the First Amendment." We think Ostrow is just right. Judge Sirica's orders are troubling from a number of points of view. First of all, in overriding the Times' First Amendment arguments, the judge relied on the Caldwell decision. In Caldwell, the Supreme Court leaned heavily on the fact that the government was seeking information about alleged criminal conduct. In the Times episode there was no search by public authorities for evidence of criminal activity; rather, what was involved was a defense counsel's preparation to discredit a government witness. Despite the great differences in the two cases and despite the Supreme Court's comforting language in Caldwell to the effect that the courts would not fall to protect the rights of the news media when appropriate, Judge Sirica seemed to have little trouble in sweeping past the First Amendment and summarily dispatching a newsman to a jail cell. The Caldwell effect, if you will, had taken hold, at least in Judge Sirica's courtroom, and had severely lessened the force of the First Amendment.

We recognize that the defendant's motion to obtain information required the judge to balance First Amendment freedoms against fairness required for the defendants by the Sixth Amendment. One way of approaching that delicate balance is to consider what the defense would have lost if the judge had ruled against it and what the public lost by the enshrinement of Judge Sirica's ruling. At the trial, the defense will have the opportunity to cross-examine Mr. Baldwin and, even without the benefit of the subpoenaed material, it will have the first person story he gave to the Times to set against the testimony he gives. It will also have the information the defendants themselves have about their own activities and about Mr. Baldwin and it will have the fruits of whatever investigations the defense has conducted. Whatever the Times materials would add in these circumstances would seem to us to be marginal.

On the other hand, Judge Sirica's ruling, going far beyond Caldwell, promises great losses to the public's right to information. Few have put it more succinctly than James C. Hagerty, press secretary to President Eisenhower, who said, in an affidavit filed in support of the Times reporters, that confidential agreements are "crucial to the newsgathering function of the media in the United States." If the people generally draw the conclusion from Judge Sirica's actions that any party to a litigation—or even just a party to a criminal proceeding—has a license to rummage through a reporter's notes, the cost to the public will, as we said after the Caldwell decision, be "the stories that will never be written about the hopes and plans of political dissenters, the corruption and political deals made inside the government and the activities of organized crime." And that is a high cost indeed—one which in our view outweighs the defendant's Sixth Amendment rights in this case.

One other observation may sharpen the focus just a bit more. Under federal statute, a defendant has a right to review a statement or report made by a government witness which is in the government's possession, but only after that witness has testified. If that standard is fair for a defendant when the document is in government hands, it would seem to be fair—even absent any First Amendment considerations—when the document or tape is in a reporter's hands. But, when First Amendment considerations and the federal statutory standard form the background for Judge Sirica's summary jailing of a newsman weeks before the beginning of the trial, neither an enterprising newsman nor an informed member of the public can avoid feeling chilled. If judges conclude, as Judge Sirica apparently did, that the Caldwell decision gives them the keys to a newsman's files in situations not even remotely similar to Caldwell, then the First Amendment is in real trouble and so are all Americans.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

Tragedy in Managua

One of the major natural disasters of modern times has devastated Managua, Nicaragua. In the wake of last weekend's earthquakes, much of the city is in ruins, while thousands have been killed and other thousands are injured. Fire and the lack of safe drinking water have added to the travail of the survivors who have now been ordered to evacuate the city for fear of further convulsions of the ground on which the city is built. Extensive aid from abroad is being rushed to help the victims, and even old political grudges are being forgotten in this essential humanitarian effort.

There must be older inhabitants of Managua for whom last weekend's death and destruction seemed like the replay of an old movie on television. At 10:10 a.m. of March 31, 1931, an earthquake lasting six seconds devastated the Managua that existed then. An American pilot's eyewitness description of the scene that day more than forty years ago sounds quite contemporary today: "The entire town of Managua is in ruins. There is not a building left standing. Hundreds of bodies are entombed in the ruins . . . Fire

is raging among the wreckage." Moreover, existing records show that major tremors took place in the same area in the 19th century long before 1931. And in 1901 this country decided that the earthquake danger in Nicaragua made it wiser to build a canal in Panama.

Against this background the question inevitably arises why Managua was rebuilt and greatly expanded on the same location in the years after 1931. But of course the same question has to be asked of people who live in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Tokyo and many other great cities where similar danger signals abound. Millions in these areas trust every day that the next great quake will not come in their lifetimes. But every now and then, as in Managua last weekend, the quake does come and exacts a high price for earlier complacency. Such recurrent tragedies can only be avoided if the lessons of history and of science are taken seriously rather than ignored in the planning of cities and the building of homes and factories.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

International Opinion

U.S. Policy in Vietnam

American imperialism has never wanted peace.

Dr. Kissinger's circus is over. Finished also the "optimistic" smiles, the knowing winks of an eye to journalists, the smug declarations, the "confidential" announcements—

"Peace is at hand" . . . "within a few hours"—no sooner reported than commented, blown up out of all proportion by the press and radio. Nixon won't play anymore. He is back on his criminal march on the path of war, from which he never really wandered.

—From [the Maoist] *Humanité Rouge* (Paris).

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

December 26, 1897

CHICAGO—The famous Chicago Coliseum, the largest building in the world, in which the Manufacturers' Exhibition was being held, has been destroyed by fire. The visitors to the Coliseum had just left when the fire broke out, but 300 exhibitors and employees remained in the building. Of these, nine perished and forty were injured. The loss is estimated at \$700,000. The fire is believed to have been due to the crossing of electric light wires.

Fifty Years Ago

December 26, 1922

PARIS—Although the French government has postponed the official ceremonies in commemoration of the Pasteur centenary until next year, the centenary of the illustrious French scientist will be honored tomorrow evening at 8:30 by a great demonstration at the Sorbonne organized by the French Students' Association. Delegations of students from all the French Universities will be present, as well as from many foreign universities as well.



'I knew There'd Be a Catch in it When They Said the Meek Would Inherit the Earth'

Prague's Search for Greater Support

By John Goshko

PRAGUE—In a bid to close the books on the recent and bitter past, Czechoslovakia's Communist leadership is trying to win a greater measure of support both at home and abroad.

This is the impression created by the recent actions and statements of those who came to power here after the 1968 Soviet invasion that deposed the liberal regime of Alexander Dubcek.

Within recent weeks, the present regime, led by Communist party chief Gustav Husak, has started to look outward in an effort to ease Czechoslovakia's four-year isolation from the West. In particular, it has made bold new overtures to improve relations with the United States and West Germany—moves aimed both at obtaining Western trade and technology and legitimizing the post-Dubcek leadership.

At the same time, the regime has launched a drive to overcome the political apathy of this country's 14 million inhabitants and gain public support for its policies. In this area, however, continued ideological differences within the leadership appear to have made the campaign more hesitant and uncertain than is the case in the foreign-policy field.

Remarkable Shifts

These shifts are especially remarkable because the regime previously had been totally preoccupied with reemphasizing a degree of Communist orthodoxy acceptable to the Soviet Union. Top priority had been given to purging the party, the government, industry and the arts of the last remnants of support for Dubcek's attempt to "humanize" Czechoslovak Communism.

Husak and his colleagues apparently feel that this process of "normalization" is completed. The most persistently stubborn of the 1968 liberals have finally been pressured into silence or exile, and the Czechoslovak people have clearly become resigned to the permanence of the new regime. But, with its authority established, the leadership obviously wants something more. At home, it wants to change the public's attitudes from apathetic resignation to approval. Abroad, it wants to shed the image of being dominated by Moscow and gain greater international respectability.

Its pursuit of these goals has been most obvious in foreign relations. For one thing, Czechoslovakia clearly wants to get into the mainstream of European détente and follow its Warsaw Pact partners in establishing a new relationship with West Germany.

However, to win a treaty with Bonn will mean giving up demands on West Germany that successive Czechoslovak governments have clung to with emotional stubbornness throughout the postwar period. Husak and others still insist in their public utterances that these demands remain sacrosanct, but it now seems obvious that they are ready to retreat.

In private, ranking officials here hint that they now are ready to bow to the West German position, provided that Bonn saves the way with some face-saving concessions. If that is done, the Czechoslovaks say, the long-sought treaty with West Germany could be wrapped up during the first months of 1973.

Unabashed Wooing

Even more obvious has been the regime's unabashed wooing of the United States. It has lost no

opportunity to signal a new willingness to settle U.S. financial claims against Czechoslovakia in exchange for most-favored-nation trade status.

This was made clear three weeks ago when a group of U.S. senators visited Prague and, to the accompaniment of heavy publicity in the local press, were cordially received by Husak and every other ranking figure in the party and government.

Then, last week, Premier Lubomir Strougal, who ranks just behind Husak, took the unprecedented step of giving The Washington Post the first interview by a Czechoslovak leader since 1968. In the interview, he missed no opportunity to make clear Prague's desire for better relations with Washington and its willingness to be "realistic" in seeking this improvement.

But while the regime's foreign initiatives appear to be going well, it has been having difficulties with its campaign to make itself more popular at home. This is so despite the fact that Husak's pursuit of "normalization" has been relatively free of terror and strong-arm tactics.

Within the present context of Czechoslovak politics, he and Strougal have emerged as relative moderates. They believe that Czechoslovakia's destiny is inseparably linked to the Soviet Union, but they are trying to induce people to accept this fact through persuasion rather than force.

To be sure, any hint of dissent is met with a no-nonsense crackdown. But, in the main, they have preferred the carrot to the stick, treating those 1968 liberals who stay in line with leniency and catering to the general public with an abundance of consumer goods at prices kept low by a government freeze.

But these tactics have not made the regime loved by a people that still remembers the heady reform spirit of 1968. Instead, people have accepted the regime's attempts to enable them to live and

eat well as a way of forgetting their problems. But they remain totally apathetic toward the government, the party and politics in general.

This is a cause of concern to the regime for two reasons. In the first place, continued widespread apathy threatens governmental efforts to make economic progress.

Given the handicaps of long-term production commitments to the Soviet Union and the need to cleave to orthodox Marxist theories, there can be no significant economic movement without a people motivated to hard work and sacrifice. As Strougal told the Communist party plenum last week: "Everybody should realize that further growth, in living standards depends primarily on higher effectiveness in the economy."

In addition, the regime frankly fears that apathy will make the people susceptible to ideological diversion from the West. Such a threat could become imminent next year if the projected European security conference obliges the Communist countries to accept some of the "freer movement" of peoples, ideas and information being sought by the West as the price for the political status quo that Moscow wants.

But, in the face of these problems, the regime does not have any clearly defined program for inspiring a dialogue with the citizenry and making it responsive to the ideological demands of the system.

There is talk of launching a vast ideological education program aimed at demystifying the Communist system and competing with capitalism and offering people a life that is both spiritually and materially rich.

Impression of Rifts

And there lately have been some tentative attempts to put a more human face on the regime. Recently, for example, one newspaper ran a lengthy Western-style article on Strougal that departed from the anonymity usual-

ly surrounding the private lives of Communist bloc leaders and portrayed him as a dedicated family man and enthusiastic hobbyist.

But the lack of any real follow-through has given the impression that the leadership is divided and confused over how it should proceed. Inevitably, this also has caused speculation about the possibility of new ideological divisions between the Husak and Strougal-led moderates and the hardliners within the regime.

In this connection, the talk invariably comes around to the role of Vasil Blask, who stands second to Husak in the Communist party hierarchy and who is regarded as a throwback in his ideological thinking to the Stalinist style of Communism that dominated Czechoslovakia before Dubcek.

Political observers are forever speculating about whether Blask eventually will usurp Husak as the top man here. While the present indications are that Husak retains the support of Moscow and is, therefore, secure, Blask does speak for influential forces within the party.

In the foreign policy sphere, these hardline elements are understood to favor the idea of better relations with the West—a belief underscored by the fact that Blask was among the party officials to receive the American senators.

Many sources here also think that Blask and his faction remain unconvinced of the need to curry favor with the public. In fact, they are described as regarding such moves as a potentially dangerous precedent that could result in a loosening of the reins and a relapse toward liberalism.

Whatever the reason, it is clear that the regime is not having much luck in carrying out a program capable of attracting widespread support. As long as the dominant mood here remains one of apathy and resignation, the regime will continue to have good reason for worrying about the potential consequences of this political aimlessness.

President Nixon's Reshuffle

By Joseph Kraft

WASHINGTON—President Nixon has accomplished the well-known miracle of his second administration: a cabinet of character rather than those who peopled his first administration. In the process good men have been dumped in unseemly ways, and a mood of personal sympathy is in order.

Still, the reshuffle cannot fairly be measured only on the scale of individual abilities. It has to be gauged against a long background of moves to reform the cabinet.

Beyond these moves for reform lies the colonization of the cabinet by private interest groups in the 19th and early 20th centuries. In that spirit the Agriculture Department was set up as the vehicle in government for the farm interests. Interior carried the ball in Washington for the raw material producers. Labor was supposed to be spokesman in government for the trade unions,

and Commerce, the mouthpiece of the business community.

For at least fifty years, however, it has been apparent that government by the play of adversary proceeding between conflicting groups was bad government. For one thing, it took a toll on the time and attention of the President.

Because they were cabinet officers, the heads of the Departments of Commerce or Labor or Agriculture or Interior, however parochial their concerns, were always deemed worthy of commanding the attention of the President. In practice, the weaker the cabinet member the stronger the felt obligation to satisfy the constituency by making noises at the White House.

It was to try to prevent such a waste of government energy that President Lyndon Johnson and President Nixon both launched efforts to win congressional authority for mergers of the cabinet departments. But these efforts encountered the vested interests of the congressional committees in the cabinet departments.

To make matters worse, trouble had developed in newer departments created after the abandonment of the colonization theory. Since World War II, it has been recognized that most serious federal business—national security, for instance, or urban affairs—cuts across different interest groups. The practice has been to create new cabinet departments out of what used to be bits and pieces of narrow agencies.

In that spirit the Defense Department was established, and the Departments of Health, Education and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, and Transportation. But these vast agglomerations have turned out to be exceedingly difficult to man-

age along the lines of presidential policy.

In his reshuffle, Mr. Nixon has tried to solve by personnel selection the administrative problems of both the colonized and conglomerated departments. To head the most colonized of the departments, Mr. Nixon has now named men so tied in with special interests that nobody will have to take them seriously in the formulation of general policy. That is the meaning of sending Peter Brennan, of the New York Building Trades Unions, to the Labor Department, and Frederick Dent, the son of a South Carolina textile family, to the Commerce Department.

To head the most conglomerated departments, Mr. Nixon has named men with managerial, as distinct from political, skills. Elliot Richardson at Defense, James T. Lynn at HUD, Caspar Weinberger at HEW, and Claude S. Rumsfeld at Transportation. They will probably not out for very long, efficient management of the conglomerates than their predecessors.

As a further guarantee of closer integration to White House pur-

Good Will To Men

By Anthony Lewis

LONDON—The only blessing we can really hope for on Christmas is self-perception. Miracles are not to be expected; only the chance of seizing on the symbol of Christmas to look within and see who we are. That was what the spirits did for Scrooge in one night.

On this Christmas, Americans inescapably think of Vietnam. We do, at least, if we have the courage to look into ourselves and not avert our eyes from what we see.

I think of a 10-year-old boy I saw in Hanoi last May 17. His name was Hoang Dinh Phong. Early one morning some weeks earlier, American planes had bombed the workers' housing block where his family lived. His father and one brother were killed. His mother was badly wounded in the attack. When I saw Hoang Dinh Phong, he was lying unconscious in a hospital bed, the top of his head covered with a bandage and a striped cloth. His 16-year-old brother, Hoang Dinh Nam, stood at the foot of the bed twisting a blue peaked cap in his hand.

The little boy had had two operations, in a hospital that had itself been bombed on April 16. I asked the director of the hospital, Dr. Nguyen Duc Lung, whether the boy would live.

"Today he is better," Dr. Lung said.

Human torment, mutilation and death are easier to understand singly than in the mass. Germans who said they knew nothing about the concentration camps were moved by Anne Frank. Some day, in the same way, Americans will read about Hoang Dinh Phong or others like him and wonder how they can ever make up for the horrors these country committed. It is a Christmas of horrors. The Red River Delta of North Vietnam is one of the most populous areas on earth. On any road there is an endless stream of peasants bicycling along or walking with baskets balanced on poles over their shoulders.

For the last week, the week of Christmas, 1972, American planes have been pounding the villages and towns of the Red River Delta day and night. Their mission, in the words of the leading French newspaper *Le Monde*, is "terror . . . blind murders . . . localized exterminations." The London Daily Mirror calls it a policy of "massive terror." Americans are used to regarding themselves as the good neighbors of the world, innocent and helpful. How terrible it is to realize this Christmas that in the eyes of most of the world the Christian peace offered by the United States is the peace of the inquisition: conformity or tormented death.

That is what Americans see. But Americans are used to regarding themselves as the good neighbors of the world, innocent and helpful. How terrible it is to realize this Christmas that in the eyes of most of the world the Christian peace offered by the United States is the peace of the inquisition: conformity or tormented death.

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Handwritten text in a box: "البريد"

U.S. Economic Analysis

Economy Booms,
Problems Lurk

By Hobart Rowen

WASHINGTON (WP)—The U.S. economy is winding up the year with a great burst of strength. Preliminary estimates of the fourth quarter gain, circulating privately in government circles, indicate that the gross national product (GNP) swelled by a rate of about \$30 billion.

More than that, it would appear that the real growth rate for the quarter was probably 8 percent or better, compared with 6.3 percent gain in the third quarter. On the other hand, the measure of inflation may have deteriorated moderately to near 3 percent (compared to 2.4 percent in the third quarter).

Almost all forecasters, regardless of political bent or instinct, are agreed that the nation is in a solid upward phase of the business cycle that should last for almost all of 1973.

Former Assistant Treasury Secretary Murray L. Weidenbaum notes that "it is hard to envision any likely combination of economic policy goals by mortal man that will upset this happy condition in 1973, but judging from past experience, that possibility cannot be entirely ruled out."

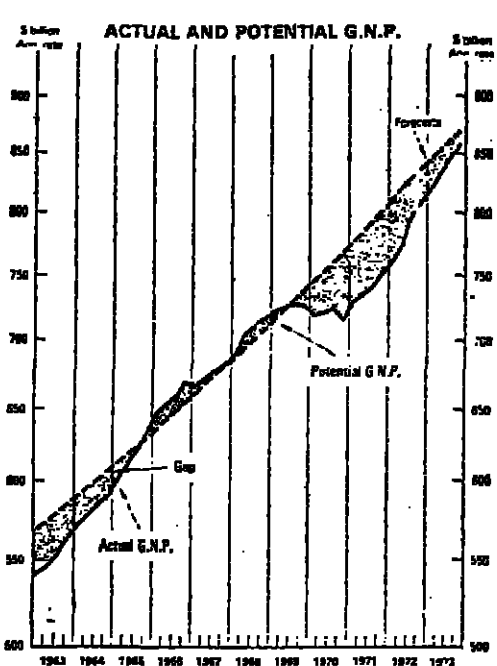
Pressing Policy Questions

Despite the happy outlook for 1973, mitigated by unemployment levels that are still far higher for blacks and young persons, there are pressing questions of economic policy that the administration is now trying to answer, under the leadership of the new economic czar, Treasury Secretary George P. Shultz.

Perhaps the most important problem has been settled in broad terms—the matter of wage and price controls. President Nixon has now decided to continue mandatory controls for some period past April 30, but the framework and the duration have not been determined. At a press conference Thursday, Mr. Shultz hinted that the new Phase 3 will enforce tougher rules. "The (price) situation isn't yet satisfactory, and we'll have to keep the pressure on," Mr. Shultz said.

The administration's determination to hold the line against inflation, as best it can, comes at a time when businessmen find the Price Commission's profit-margin limitation increasingly irritating. It would not be surprising, therefore, to see this method of price control abandoned—and with it the departure of Price Commission Chairman C. Jackson Grayson Jr., a strong advocate of the profit-margin rule.

A closely related issue involves fiscal policy, and here—although the budget deficit operation clearly ought to be assigned some of the credit for the boom in GNP, production, and profits—the administration is completely sold on a budget cutting operation that will hold the fiscal 1973 outgo to \$250 billion, and the fiscal 1974 expenditure total to \$270 billion. That is what a former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, Arthur M. Okun, calls "fiscal discipline." The danger in Mr. Nixon's commitment to a



fixed total in spending is that some good programs will have to be scrapped.

For example, the administration is about ready to ditch its own plan to recommend an expenditure of \$500 million for "economic assistance" to industries and workers suffering hardship as a consequence of heavy imports.

Money Cuts Threaten Program

Such a liberalized program has been strongly recommended by free-traders, unions and others concerned with attempting to negate the protectionist impetus in Congress. It seems a small price to pay to tide over temporarily those companies, employees and communities who through no fault of their own are overwhelmed by imports. It is the intelligent way to try to handle the problem—in contrast to mandatory and rigid quotas that would limit or shut off the entry of foreign goods.

Essentially, that was said to be the administration's own position. But the liberalized adjustment assistance program is threatened by the money-saving operation at the Budget Bureau.

The administration is also required, by its own promised timetable, to make recommendations on tax reform for the new session of Congress. There seems little disposition to push for plugging the major tax loopholes mentioned by liberal Democrats.

Raise Tax on Overseas Units

But it is possible, in an effort to hold off trade quotas, and to entice the APT-CIO's George Meany and his supporters back into the wage-price structure, that the administration may back a program for heavier taxation of U.S. companies' subsidiaries overseas.

Such a bid for labor would not be welcomed by business. The antidote for that might be a fluctuating investment tax credit, as suggested by Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur F. Burns, ranging from zero to 15 percent. A reduced tax credit would not hurt in boom times; but it could provide a big thrust in slack periods.

Taxes in U.S.
Small in Ratio
To Its GNPOECD Compares
National Levies

By Edwin L. Dale Jr.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 25 (NYT).—Total government tax collections in the United States are a smaller proportion of the gross national product than in any other industrial country except Japan and Switzerland, new international comparisons have revealed.

However, the United States ranks near the top in the proportion of income taxes in total tax collections. Other countries rely more heavily on sales and "value-added" taxes, which are similar to sales taxes.

The new figures, published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, cover tax collections at all levels of government.

Sweden Tops List

The latest figures, termed by the OECD as "more detailed than any hitherto available on an international basis," are based on average tax collections in the years 1968, 1969 and 1970.

They show that taxes collected here amounted to 27.9 percent of the gross national product—the country's total output of goods and services.

The highest tax "burden" was in Sweden, with 43 percent of the GNP. Switzerland's rate was 31.6 percent, while the other European industrial countries ranged from 30.1 percent in Italy to 30.7 percent in the Netherlands.

Sweden was the only country with a tax rate of above 40 percent of the GNP. Switzerland's rate was 31.6 percent, while the other European industrial countries ranged from 30.1 percent in Italy to 30.7 percent in the Netherlands.

Individual Taxes

Since the 1968-1970 period the United States has had a reduction in the federal income and corporate profits tax, offset by increases in social security taxes and many state and local taxes. It is probable that the U.S. tax rate is now a little higher than 27.9 percent, but the nation's ranking probably has not changed much, if at all.

If social security taxes are excluded, the rankings change. The U.S. burden becomes 22.7 percent, which is higher than France, Italy, Switzerland and Japan. Denmark takes the top rank, with 35.6 percent.

The share of income taxes in total tax collections in the United States is 48.1 percent—34.4 percent collected from individuals and 13.7 percent from corporations. Only Sweden has a higher proportion of income taxes in total tax collections.

Contrast with France

By contrast, the United States ranks at the bottom in the proportion of the total labeled "taxes on goods and services," sales taxes, excise taxes, value-added taxes and the like. Only 19 percent of total U.S. taxes were in this form, with the top figure being Finland's 42.9 percent.

The marked differences among nations in how they collect their taxes can be shown by a comparison between the United States and France.

In France, 40 percent of total taxes are in the form of social security taxes and only 18 percent in income taxes. A reduced tax credit would not hurt in boom times; but it could provide a big thrust in slack periods.

In the United States, 48.1 percent of the total is in income taxes and only 18.6 percent in social security taxes, though the social security percentage has risen in the United States since the 1968-1970 period used in the figures.

Machine Tool
Orders in U.S.
Up 19% in Month

NEW YORK, Dec. 25 (NYT).

The machine-tool industry continued to set records as November orders of \$163.7 million were the highest for any month this year. This total compared with the year's previous high of \$141.8 million in October and \$78 million in November, 1971.

The National Machine Tool Builders' Association, which released the statistics over the weekend, placed the cumulative total at \$1.25 billion, or 63 percent ahead of the first 11 months of 1971. However, total orders for the first 11 months lagged 23 percent behind the record of \$1.62 billion set in the comparable 1969 period.

Domestic customers accounted for \$150.2 million of the November total. The industry actually shipped \$96.7 million in machine tools in November against \$91.3 million in October and \$68.1 million in November, 1971. This boosted shipments for the year to date to \$900.2 million, or 0.9 percent higher than in the first 11 months of last year.

China Steps Up
Its Purchase of
Steel in Japan

TOKYO, Dec. 25 (Reuters).

China has agreed to buy nearly one million tons of steel products from Japan for shipment in the first half of next year, Nippon Steel Corp. said today.

It said agreement was reached in current negotiations between a visiting Chinese steel-buying mission and major Japanese mills. This brought the total import arrangements concluded by the mission since last November to about 67 million tons, worth about \$7 billion (about \$215 million) it said.

Nomura, Merrill Lynch
Form Joint U.S. Fund

TOKYO, Dec. 25 (AP-J).

Nomura Securities has reached an agreement with Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith to establish a joint investment trust venture in the United States.

The venture will establish a mutual fund firm, Fund America of Japan Inc., to sell shares listed on the New York and American Stock Exchanges mainly to Japanese investors, the officials said.

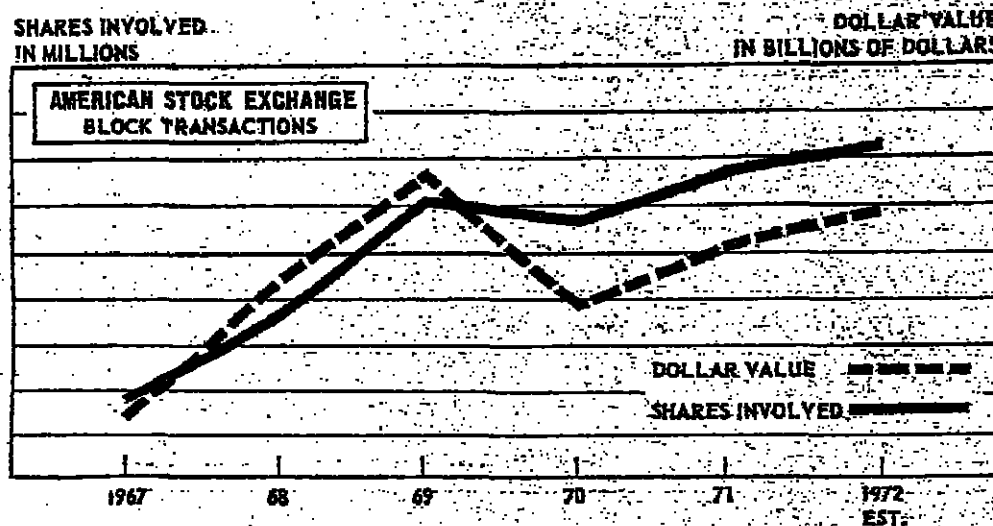
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Marketability of Shares Affected

Small Traders Quit Market, Cause Pinch

By Philip Greer

NEW YORK, Dec. 25 (WP)—Martin Jonas never thought he would become a major problem in Wall Street, but he has. Not because of anything he has done—large brokers have even heard of him—but because of what he has not done. He's a problem that is proving expensive to the market—and, possibly, unsolvable.

Martin Jonas is a small investor. And what he has not done since the past three years is—invest. Like millions of other individual investors, large and small, he has been turned off by the stock market. As a result, the market is left with a gaping hole that many brokers would not believe could exist.

The problem is liquidity—the ability of the market to trade large amounts of securities quickly and at prices determined by the competing bids and offers of many buyers and sellers. What is more, the defection of individual investors has tended to make the market's adjustment to other changes more difficult. For example, brokers have been forced to abandon the old fixed commission rate structure on very large trades. As a result, income from large business has fallen sharply—and the brokers do not have as much revenue from individuals to fall back on.

Individuals Disenchanted

Some authorities dispute the claim that individual investors have left the market. Paul Kilton, chairman of the American Stock Exchange, notes that the trading on the Amex is still strong. Figures on that exchange indicate institutions account for about 30 percent of all trading. And figures compiled by the New York Stock Exchange show that individuals accounted for 52 percent of the value of stocks traded in all markets in 1971.

Most other measures, though—studies by the NYSE mutual fund sales and redemptions and others—as well as mail received by regulatory authorities and congressmen, indicate that individual investors have indeed become disenchanted with the market.

Rep. John Moss, D., Cal., chairman of the securities subcommittee, which recently completed a two-year study of the industry, says: "My letters reflect the feeling by investors that the brokers don't really want them. They feel they're paying excessive commissions. Their confidence is wiped out as a result of heavy losses from 1968 to 1971. The conviction is developing in the minds of small investors that the industry isn't competent to handle their business."

The disaffection does not end with the brokers. For more than 30 years, the country's mutual funds always attracted more money from investors than they paid out to those redeeming their shares, providing a steady stream of new capital for the market.

Leave Mutual Funds

In May 1971, that changed when the industry reported its first "net redemption." In part, they simply reflected a long-term trend that has seen small-in-

vestor money channeled into pension and profit-sharing funds, life insurance and savings. That, too, there was a disenchantment with the funds, which sold themselves through the 1960s on lofty promises of capital gains, but were unable to fulfill them in the dull stock market that followed. Finally, nasty share-redemptions had reached the point in 1971 for which they had been investing in the first place—retirement, college for the children and so on—and simply cashed in their chips.

In the first 11 months of this year, the fund industry paid out \$1.5 billion more than it took in. In the 18 months since the redemptions surfaced, \$1.87 billion has been drained out of the funds (which still have record assets—\$99.9 billion, thanks in part to the recent run-up in the market).

In order to redeem the shares, of course, the funds have had to sell stock in the market, reversing their former position as a purveyor of stock prices.

The decline in individual investing—directly and through mutual funds—has come at a particularly inopportune time for Wall Street, for as the individual business dwindles, institutions such as insurance companies and bank trusts are growing rapidly.

Institutional Trade Soars

Institutional trading activity has soared. In 1971, four major types of institutions—pension funds, mutual funds, life and non-life insurance companies—bought and sold \$92.3 billion worth of stock on the NYSE, a 38 percent increase over 1970 and 18 percent higher than the previous record set in 1969.

As recently as 1961, institutions accounted for only a third of the public-generated volume on the exchange. When large blocks of stock—the hallmark of institutional investing—reached the floor, they were easily absorbed by the millions of individual investor orders flooding the exchange.

From its beginning, the NYSE has depended on that torrent of individual orders, coming as they do in all sizes and shapes, some to invest and others to speculate, but all the "grease" that kept the trading mechanism operating.

Trade in Herds

Now, however, the mix of orders has changed sharply. More than 70 percent of the public trading on the NYSE is done by institutions. Operated by professional managers who draw for the most part on the same pool of research, the institutions tend to run in herds, buying and selling the same stocks at the same time. As the institutions have grown, the weight of their large-block trading has pressed more heavily on the market mechanism.

In 1970, trades involving 10,000 shares or more accounted for 12 percent of all the volume on the NYSE. In 1971 it was 16.5 percent, a rise at 27 percent.

Exchange specialists, who are charged with supervising the auction trading and maintaining "fair and orderly markets," have become increasingly unable to handle the block business without the "cushion" of individual orders to support them. "They can't lay it off on the speculators any

Greeks Fight
Inflation With
New ControlsCost of Living Index
Up 5 Percent This Year

ATHENS, Dec. 25 (NYT).—To curb inflation, the military-backed Greek government yesterday imposed a major credit squeeze on the economy coupled with tighter wage and price controls.

The new economic measures were combined with strict policing of the small Athens stock exchange, where a growing demand for securities had triggered a speculative boom that trebled the price of bank shares in 1972.

The regime's strong measures were announced after a daylong cabinet meeting by Deputy Premier Nikolaos Makris, the 51-year-old former colonel, who ranks third in the regime's hierarchy, was flanked by six other cabinet members when he addressed the press in the Senate Hall in downtown Athens.

The measures followed a sudden increase by 5 percent of the official cost-of-living index in 1972 and the emergence of a black market for food items whenever the authorities tightened price controls.

Mr. Makris said the government is freezing all bank loans for housing, as well as credits to all building companies for six months. "There are today nearly 30 billion of housing credits outstanding," he said.

At the same time, the government is drafting legislation to curb speculation on the stock market by disciplining stockbrokers and punishing them for gapping in practices that would be deemed offenses under the new law. He did not elaborate.

Stagnant Growth

Mr. Makris said the regime's objective was an 8 percent growth rate for 1973, combining with a 4 percent increase held down to 4 percent. He said, "If these measures are not effective, we are ready and determined to take even more drastic action."

He said the cabinet decided today to impose stricter price controls while pegging all wage increases to productivity.

Mr. Makris said any attempt by local producers to raise prices by withholding their products would be confronted by the government with imports from abroad.

He added that the government's investment program spending for 1973, budgeted at \$9.17 billion, will be slowed down to diminish liquidity.

Stock Market Rush

The deputy premier's announcement focused on strong measures to end the price-spiral rush to the Athens stock market. He said, "Prices at the stock market had reached colossal proportions because the offer could not match the massive demand for securities."

Sales in the Athens securities market had shot up from \$60 million in 1971 to over \$200 million in the first 11 months of 1972.

Besides offering inducements to firms to register in the stock exchange, the regime was ordering all commercial banks to liquidate 45 percent of their portfolios of securities within a year. At least one government-controlled public utility, the Greek telecommunications organization, will go partly public, while the general market system, however, will be kept away and the regulatory interventions in the market.

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حکومت اعلیٰ

Beats Cleveland on 4th-Quarter TD

Miami Barely Does the Job

MIAMI, Dec. 25 (UPI)—The Dolphins may have played in the first three quarters, but the chips were down, and when the game was over, coach Don Shula, who's what makes his team great enough to win the Super Bowl.

"Everything was laid out in front of us in the fourth quarter," Shula said in the dressing room after Miami's 30-14 victory over Cleveland that put the Dolphins into next Sunday's American Conference playoff against Pittsburgh.

"We had about eight minutes to go and we were behind and had to score a touchdown to win. We got the ball and we went 80 yards and scored," Shula said. "That exemplifies what this team has done all year. We did

what we had to do. Today was a typical example.

"We're 15-0 now, but what's more important, we've got No. 1 of the three we want to win," said Shula, who will take the Dolphins to the Super Bowl a second time if they beat the Steelers. Miami lost to Dallas in last January's championship game.

Shula, quarterback Earl Morrall and just about everybody else conceded that Miami made a poor showing against the Browns in the first three quarters yesterday. "But the defense kept taking the ball away from them and that kept us in the game," said Shula. "We just couldn't get it together in the first half," Morrall said. "We had a lot of opportunities, but it seemed like something was always going wrong. We made

mistakes you can't afford to make against a team like Cleveland."

Paul Warfield, the ex-Cleveland who snagged a 35-yard pass that highlighted Miami's final scoring drive, said he felt "more nervous for this game than I have in a while."

"Perhaps we were all tight for this one," he said. "We wanted to win this one—it was one we had to get out of the way. But now that we've broken the ice in the post-season games, I think things will get better for us."

Interceptions were a big factor for Miami—Cleveland quarterback Mike Phipps threw five of them. "It was a matter of a young quarterback being a little erratic when the pressure got to him," said Brown coach Nick Skorich. "But it will be different next time. We're on the verge of being a great football team."

He said he was proud of his team's effort "against what we consider the greatest offensive team in football."

Skorich praised his team for a great effort. He said the Dolphins were keying on Leroy Kelly so Bo Scott carried the brunt of the running load, getting 92 yards on 16 tries.

Redskins' New Defense Makes Allen a Winner

WASHINGTON, Dec. 25 (UPI)—I guess the players felt sorry for me. They must have said it's about time George Allen won a playoff," said George Allen, the Washington Redskins coach yesterday, after his team beat Green Bay, 16-3.

It was Allen's first playoff victory after three losses as head coach of the Los Angeles Rams and Washington.

Allen said the difference in the game was his "quarter strategy," which he calls his five-man defensive line, implemented to stop MacArthur Lane and John Brockington, the Packers' runners.

The Redskins came into the game with two straight losses after clinching the National Conference Eastern Division title. They seemed to have lost momentum, which Allen sometimes says is important and other times says is not.

"We established our own momentum this week in practice," Allen said. "We concentrated and we worked hard."

"I wasn't that concerned about my playoff record. I always knew that if you just kept winning and winning you'd come out on top in the end."

"We finally played football for a change," linebacker Jack Pardee said. "We put in an extra big man in the defensive line (Manny Sistrunk) to help control the run. That and good hard hitting is the way to beat the Packers."

Coach Dan Devine of Green Bay said his offense team should have taken advantage of the Redskins' "quarter defense."

"You leave a weakness somewhere else when you take out a linebacker," Devine said. "We weren't quite capable of exploiting that weakness."

Green Bay linebacker Fred Carr said it was the Redskins' running game and Larry Brown that enabled them to control the contest, particularly in the second half.

Brown, who sat out the Redskins' last two regular-season games to recuperate from injuries, suffered a strained knee and missed the final portion of the second quarter. He still managed

to rush for 101 yards on 25 carries.

"Brown did a helluva job," Carr said. "He played in pain. We gave him good luck, but he just got up every time. He's a helluva football player."

Billy Kilmer, who directed the Redskins to a 21-16 victory over Green Bay on Nov. 26, said, "We didn't change the game much this time. We wanted to throw early to loosen up their defense for the run."

"On the touchdown pass to Roy Jefferson, I threw a deep post pattern off a play fake. We had used the same pass before, but I threw it behind him. This time I used it with a play fake and it froze the cornerback just enough and Jefferson ran a super pattern."

Staubach Aids Health Status Of Cowboys

By Dave Brady

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 25 (UPI)—On a day when hardly anything went right for Dallas quarterback Craig Morton, Roger Staubach demonstrated that he was as recovered from a shoulder separation that he could have his neck wrung repeatedly by Cedric Hardman of San Francisco without losing his effectiveness.

Staubach, replacing Morton late in the third quarter, threw two touchdown passes in the last 90 seconds of the game to give the defending champions a 30-28 victory.

Now, a victory in Washington Sunday would enable the Cowboys to celebrate the new year with a record third straight National Football Conference title.

In question is center Dave Maders' exuberant lockerroom assertion: "This is going to do more for us than winning the Super Bowl last year."

The Cowboys thought that, after last season's championship, they had surely put away their reputation for "choking." But the game was being dusted off again on Saturday as the Cowboys turned the ball over five times and trailed by 15 points in the fourth quarter.

The 49ers do not run the ball with anything like the authority of the Redskins or any of the other teams in the playoffs. But despite Calvin Hill's gaining 125 yards and Billy Parks' seven catches for 174 yards, the Cowboys were still struggling.

The Dallas offensive line was being overrun on pass blocking. Staubach was sacked four times and Morton once, running the total for the season against Dallas to 36.

Dallas converted only four of 13 third downs successfully; Morton three of 10, Staubach one of three.

All-pro defensive tackle Bob Lilly had to retire after little more than a quarter because of an aching back that caused him to miss the last two games. Thus, a four-man running back line Larry Schreiber was able to punch his way across for three touchdowns from a yard out against the Dallas goal-line defense.

Since John Brodie was "not having one of his better days" throwing the loss of all-pro right linebacker Chuck Howley was not so measurable. His replacement, four-season veteran D. Lewis, made no glaring errors.

Including Saturday's game, opponents have completed nearly 50 percent of their passes against the Cowboys.

Yet, in this kind of adversity, inflicted by unchampionship-like mistakes, the Cowboys made it with the help of Staubach. He was at his best when forced by the opposition to improvise on the sideline orders of coach Tom Landry, who takes the responsibility of making tactical decisions.

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In question is center Dave Maders' exuberant lockerroom assertion: "This is going to do more for us than winning the Super Bowl last year."

The Cowboys thought that, after last season's championship, they had surely put away their reputation for "choking." But the game was being dusted off again on Saturday as the Cowboys turned the ball over five times and trailed by 15 points in the fourth quarter.

The 49ers do not run the ball with anything like the authority of the Redskins or any of the other teams in the playoffs. But despite Calvin Hill's gaining 125 yards and Billy Parks' seven catches for 174 yards, the Cowboys were still struggling.

The Dallas offensive line was being overrun on pass blocking. Staubach was sacked four times and Morton once, running the total for the season against Dallas to 36.

Dallas converted only four of 13 third downs successfully; Morton three of 10, Staubach one of three.

All-pro defensive tackle Bob Lilly had to retire after little more than a quarter because of an aching back that caused him to miss the last two games. Thus, a four-man running back line Larry Schreiber was able to punch his way across for three touchdowns from a yard out against the Dallas goal-line defense.

Since John Brodie was "not having one of his better days" throwing the loss of all-pro right linebacker Chuck Howley was not so measurable. His replacement, four-season veteran D. Lewis, made no glaring errors.

Including Saturday's game, opponents have completed nearly 50 percent of their passes against the Cowboys.

Yet, in this kind of adversity, inflicted by unchampionship-like mistakes, the Cowboys made it with the help of Staubach. He was at his best when forced by the opposition to improvise on the sideline orders of coach Tom Landry, who takes the responsibility of making tactical decisions.

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WINNING FANS—Pittsburgh's Franco Harris, who scored the winning touchdown, is mobbed by fans at Three Rivers Stadium after Steelers beat Oakland Raiders, 13-7, to advance in American Conference playoffs.

Pittsburgh Ricochets in the Right Direction

By Red Smith

NEW YORK, Dec. 25 (NYT)—In the raucous streets, Frenchy's Foreign Legion honked at Bradshaw's Brigade, Gerela's Gorillas hailed Ham's Hussars, and foot soldiers in Franco's Italian Army waved red, white and green flags. Back in the bowels of Three Rivers Stadium, Frenchy Fuqua's multichop whippers twitched rapturously. Art Rooney's cigar was lit. The first post-season football game in Pittsburgh history was over, and not since Braddock was ambushed at Fort Duquesne had the town known a day like this.

Forty years ago little Arthur Rooney, 135-pound playing coach of the Majestic Radios, the Hope Harveys and the James P. Rooneys, paid \$2,500 for a franchise in the National Football League. Never in all the cold autumns since then had the Steelers got the whiff of a championship of any kind, and now here they were: Half-champions of the American Conference with a date to play again next Sunday for the conference title and a chance to earn \$25,000 a man in Super Bowl VII. And of all the 478 games they had played before last Saturday, none was more gaudily theatrical than the 13-7 conquest of the Oakland Raiders that brought them to this plateau.

Five seconds this side of defeat, the victory was accomplished on a busted play in which the Oakland defense performed flawlessly.

With fourth down, 10 yards to go, on the Pittsburgh 40-yard line, 22 seconds remaining on the clock, Oakland on top, 7-6 and a horde of predators clawing for Terry Bradshaw's eyeballs, the Steelers' scrambling quarterback threw a pass that Oakland's accomplished safety man, Jack Tatum, deflected out of Frenchy Fuqua's reach. The play was designed to gain about 18 yards—enough to get the ball into field goal range for Roy Gerela—and Fuqua became the target only because the defense wouldn't let the primary receiver, Barry Pearson, get downfield.

Good Bounce

Blocked by Tatum around the Raiders 35-yard line, the ball flew back about seven yards to Franco Harris, the rookie runner fielded it at his knees and crossed the goal line 42 yards away with the clock showing five seconds to play.

"We'll take these little crumbs," said Chuck Noll, the Pittsburgh coach. His tone was devout.

The Steelers reached their dressing room in a daze. Fuqua, who had been knocked down in a collision with Tatum, had

thought the pass was incomplete. "When I got up I saw Franco about the five-yard line."

"I didn't see the ball bounce away," Bradshaw said. "I just saw Franco take off. I thought, 'Man, it musta hit him right on the numbers.' I've played football since the second grade and nothing like that ever happened. I'll never happen again. And to think it happened here in Pittsburgh in a playoff."

"We're putting the play in tomorrow," Noll promised.

Before Fred Swearingen, the referee, ruled the touchdown official he checked with Art McNally, the NFL supervisor of officials, who had watched the televised replay in the press box and confirmed Swearingen's observation that a defensive player (Tatum) had indeed touched the ball and the pass had not gone illegally from Bradshaw to Fuqua to Harris.

Jim Kensil, the league's executive director, hastily denied that the decision had been made in the press box for fear such a precedent would be cited forevermore by coaches and players demanding that officials consult the instant replay before rendering judgments. However, Noll, who had muddled on the field with all the officials and John Madden, the Raiders' protesting coach, already had reported that the referee had agreed "to check upstairs. I didn't know how."

The Old Days

Heightening the melodrama of the fight was the primeval stoginess of the defensive struggle that preceded it. For 35 minutes, the teams played unadorned football. After a scoreless first half, witnesses were saying, "It took the Steelers 48 years to get here, and they're setting the game back 50." Somewhere in the gray nothingness overhead, Dr. Jock Sutherland must have been watching with a smile of benign approval. When that dour Scot, that rock of conservatism, coached the Steelers, he considered the forward pass a crime against nature.

Harking back to the days of the Minnesota shift and the flying wedge, the Steelers smothered Oakland's attack so effectively that a 6-0 lead on two field goals by Gerela seemed safe until, with a minute and 12 seconds left, Ken Stabler slipped around and for a 30-yard touchdown run and George Blanda's conversion put Oakland in front, 7-6.

Now Chuck Noll remembered that on fourth-and-two on Oakland's 31 in the first half, he had ordered a line plunge that failed instead of a place-kick by Gerela. The three points he might have got, but didn't, would have meant a 3-7 lead now. "If I'd had a third leg I would have kicked myself," he confessed. With a kicker like Gerela around, that would have been another mistake.

Christmas in Prison with No. 45472 (Once a Boxer)

By Dave Anderson

RAHWAY, N.J., Dec. 25 (NYT)—In the outer office, a guard in a blue shirt looked up.

"What's his number?" the guard asked.

"45472," one of the visitors replied.

Moments later, other guards began to unlock doors inside Rahway State Prison's high brick walls. Soon, in a private room with a big brown wooden door that had a small window, Rubin Carter appeared. Once he fought for the middleweight title, Rubin was now a prisoner. He was 36 years old, serving a triple life sentence for the 1969 murder of three white patrons in a Paterson, N.J., tavern. His black skin was shaved, as it always was. His mustache and beard were thick. His glasses had gold frames. Other prisoners wore gray or blue. But he resembled a hospital intern with a high-collared white jacket and white pants over polished brown boots.

"I don't wear what the other guys wear," he explained. "It's the only way I can keep my individuality here."

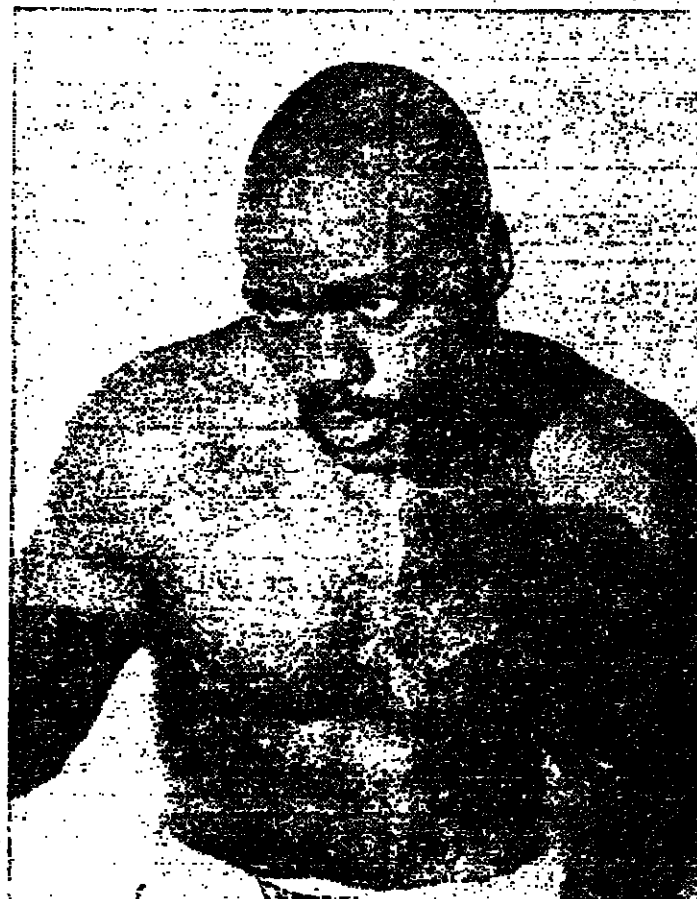
In his cell he studies law books and types his autobiography, "The 16th Round," to be published next year.

"I didn't commit the crime," he was saying now. "But the jury decided that I did it, so my innocence or guilt is not even relevant anymore. The fact now is, did I receive a fair trial with all my constitutional rights protected? My whole time here is spent looking in law books, trying to get out of here. The only way for me is through the law. Unless I escape, which isn't feasible right now."

Appeal Coming

He laughed, the gold in his teeth flashing. He appeared more determined than angry about his appeal that will be filed in federal district court in Newark next year.

"I was cleared by a man wounded by the killers: I passed a lie-detector test that I took voluntarily; the description of the killers fit neither me nor John Arce, convicted with me," he continued. "And there's more. But to know that you don't believe here, it's mind-bending."



Rubin Carter during his boxing days.

man, I'm no goody-goody guy. I been in these places before, but I'm man enough to realize that if I let loose, I committed this crime, I'm man enough to take my weight."

"But because I know I was put here fairly, this is how my mind: I think about it not every second. Man, but every half-second, I have nothing in common here with nobody. The inmates today just aren't my type of people. They're not worrying about going home. They just want to go to television, go to play handball. I ain't got no time for this. I read the law in my house, that's my cell. I don't go nowhere. I just read the law in my house."

Suddenly, the door opened.

"What's your number?" said a

would've said. "That's not Rubin because Rubin never really been a thief."

"But when I was accused of going to there to shoot four white people, they said, 'That sounds like Rubin because Rubin might do that.'"

"Now they say, 'All right, Rubin got shafted, but they feel Rubin is a revengeful man, so they say, 'Well, look, let's just let him stay there. Maybe he didn't do it, but he's in jail now, he can't bother nobody. If we try to get him out of jail, whatever he do will fall back on our names. It's like going to the bar and seeing the lion. You'd like to stick your finger in the cage, but as long as the bars is there, you're all right. This is the type of mentality I'm dealing with here, where I can't get nobody to help me, where they feel it's safer to keep me here.'"

A Wife and Daughter

His wife Thelma and his 10-year-old daughter Theodora visit him regularly.

"They come as often as they can. We have contact visits here, no money, so I can't buy 'em. I can hold 'em. When I left home, my daughter was 2 years old. But she remember her daddy loved her, and she loved her daddy. But when she started getting up to 15, like me last year and she started crying, I said, 'What you crying for?' But she was just getting old enough to realize where I was at, that I couldn't come home. That hurt me. I mean, that tore me up."

"Somebody would've knocked me down and it wouldn't have meant nothing compared to what that done to me. I sit here and look at these bars holding me in here, not only are they killing me, but they're hurting my family."

When his wife and daughter visited him yesterday, they didn't bring any Christmas presents as such.

"They bring food packages, I can eat 'em," he said. "But what are you going to do with a present? I don't allow anybody else to come because I don't need talk. If you want to do something, come and help me, try to get me out of here."

He will spend Christmas reading law books in his cell.

To Mr. 45472 said, "Christmas is just another day."

Rangers Shut Out Red Wings

40th Blanking For Giacomin

By John S. Radosta

NEW YORK, Dec. 25 (NYT)—With the New York Rangers holding a 5-0 lead over the Detroit Red Wings, a full house of 17,500 fans in Madison Square Garden began chanting "defense, defense!"

The incantation worked nicely, and the New York goaltender, Eddie Giacomin, emerged yesterday afternoon with the Rangers' first shutout of the season and the 40th of Giacomin's career.

As Giacomin skated off the ice among his howling teammates, he greeted coach Emile Francis with a "Merry Christmas." Francis returned the greeting with one of his own, a \$100 bonus for the shutout.

It was a great day for all the Rangers. Brad Park came back from the injured list, and the 12 shifts he skated had an obvious effect in holding off the Red Wings.

Pete Skowroch got four assists, raising his point total to 16 in the last eight games. Steve Vickers, the Ranger left-wing who had led National Hockey League rookies in scoring, also returned from the casualty list. The New Yorkers scored their first goal as Skowroch came out first penalty box during a line change. He passed from Detroit's right corner to Jean Ratelle, who knocked in his 15th goal.

The Rangers put away the game in the second period by scoring three times. The first two goals—by Rod Seiling and Glen Sather, who seems to be regaining his truculence of last year—were enough to knock Detroit's goaltender, Roy Edwards, out of the game.

Edwards was relieved by Andy Brown, whose one previous game in the National Hockey League was a disastrous experience in which he yielded eight goals to the Boston Bruins.

Golden Seals 5, Kings 3

At Oakland, Serge Bernier scored four goals as Los Angeles beat California, 5-3, before a crowd of 17,998 persons. Bernier, called in every period.

Black Hawks 5, Maple Leafs 1

Dennis Hull scored his 16th and 19th goals to lead Chicago to a 5-1 home victory over Toronto, boosting the Black Hawks' lead in the West Division to five points.

NHL Standings

EAST DIVISION				
Team	W	L	T	Pts
Montreal	21	8	2	44
Boston	20	9	3	43
N.Y. Rangers	21	11	3	45
Philadelphia	18	10	3	39
Detroit	18	16	3	39
Toronto	10	18	6	26
Vancouver	9	21	8	26
N.Y. Islanders	4	25	12	10

WEST DIVISION				
Team	W	L	T	Pts
Chicago	21	11	2	44
Minnesota	18	12	3	39
Philadelphia	18	12	3	39
Los Angeles	18	14	4	40
Atlanta	15	17	5	35
Pittsburgh	15	15	4	34
St. Louis	11	15	6	28
California	9	21	7	25

Sunday's Games:

New York 3, Detroit 6 (Ratelle, Sather, Bernier, MacGregor); Los Angeles 5, California 3 (Bernier, Vickers, Mactavish, Leach, Patrick); Chicago 5, Toronto 3 (Hull, 2, Pappin, Korol, Mikita, Henderson).

WHA Standings

East Division				
Team	W	L	T	Pts
New England	21	4	1	43
Cleveland	20	14	1	41
New York	20	17	9	49
Quebec	18	15	3	39
Ottawa	15	17	2	32
Philadelphia	12	20	2	26

West Division				
Team	W	L	T	Pts
Winnipeg	21	3	4	44
Minnesota	18	14	2	40
Los Angeles	18	17	4	38
Edmonton	15	19	3	33
Alberta	12	19	2	26
Chicago	11	21	2	24

Sunday's Games:

Ottawa 5, Quebec 2 (Curling, 2, Scott, Charbonneau, Simpson, King, Fortman, Rouleau); Los Angeles 5, New England 3 (Vezina, 2, Byers, 2, Ollmeyer, Pless, 3).

Indiana's Pont Named Coach At Northwestern

EVANSTON, Ill., Dec. 25 (UPI).

John Pont, head football coach at Indiana University, has agreed to become head football coach at Northwestern University. It has been announced.

Pont, 44, just completed his eighth season at Indiana. His best year was in 1967, when he led the Hoosiers to a Big Ten championship and the Rose Bowl. After his team had a 1-8-1 record last season, he was named interim coach. The Northwestern post became vacant when Al Agase left to take the head football job at Purdue after the resignation of Bob DeMoss, who remained at Purdue as assistant athletic director.

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Art Buchwald

The Consultant

WASHINGTON—What does a man do when he leaves an administration after serving his President faithfully for four years? He becomes a Washington consultant.

But what does a Washington consultant do?

In order to find out, I went to the office of a former Deputy Secretary of Health, Commerce, Transportation & Meat Inspection. His name is Wendell Watercross and I found him seated in a large leather chair behind a splendid desk.



Buchwald

On the walls were autographed photographs of Watercross with Vice-President Agnew, Attorney General Richard Kleindienst, Secretary of the Treasury George Shultz, and the entire Joint Chiefs of Staff. And on his desk facing out was an 11-inch x 20-inch photograph of Watercross with President Richard Nixon. There was a Secret Service man standing between them, and the President and Watercross were looking in opposite directions.

"Mr. Watercross, what do you do as a consultant?"

"Just a minute, please," Watercross said, he pressed a button on his desk. "Miss Cobb, if the White House calls, tell them I'm in conference."

Then he turned back to me. "What do I do as a consultant? That's an interesting question."

The phone on Watercross' desk rang and he picked it up. "Hello? Oh, hi there, Mr. Croomaglion... I was going to call you today. I checked into your complaint. Yes, apparently the brake fluid is lining you manufacture is polluting the city's reservoir. The environmental people are pretty upset about it, so I thought we'd go around them and put the problem up to Commerce... Commerce is more interested in brake fluid than they are in clean water... It's a little more complicated than that, Mr. Croomaglion. We have to put pressure on the city to move their reservoir to another place. That requires dealing with Housing and Urban Development... Well, I got a call in to them now... No, no, I think it looks good. The only hitch is that you people only gave \$50,000 to the Committee to Re-elect the President... You'd be willing to double that? Good, that takes care of that problem... I'll call you back. Right." Watercross asked, "Now, where were we?"

The phone rang again. Watercross answered it. "Ah, general, thanks for returning my call. Say, I'm calling on a small matter... You know the Air Force contract for the new Rattlesnake Night Fighter? ... Well, it's turned out to be a fantastic plane. There is only one slight hitch at the moment... It won't fly at night... But this can be corrected for as little as \$2 million per plane. Now, don't get angry. We're in this together... I can tell you something off the record, general. The President told me at church services last Sunday that he's counting on the Rattlesnake to be the bulwark of defense for the '70s... Good... Talk it over with your people at the Pentagon and let me know. 'Where were we?' Watercross asked.

"What do you do?" I asked. The phone rang again. Watercross picked it up. "Le Blanc... He's that the FPC has found your carpets are inflammable? We'll have to do something about that... I'll call someone at the White House who will give the FPC a piece of his mind... Don't worry, Le Blanc. We have a warm spot in our hearts for carpet people, and we're not going to let the FPC walk all over you... And a happy new year to you."

"Now," said Watercross, "You want me to tell you what I do." "Never mind," I said, getting up. "I think I know."

4th-Century Church

BETHLEHEM, Dec. 25 (Reuters)—The remains of a 4th-century church have been discovered below a modern Greek Orthodox church at Beit Sahur, just south of Bethlehem. Funds included mosaic decorations and Greek inscriptions.

Waverley Root

Journalistic Scoops and How They Have Changed

'In an age where individual initiative is being replaced by team efforts and improvisation by organization, journalism could hardly be expected to remain an exception to the rule.'

PARIS (HTT)—The Pentagon papers case, which by implication reproves The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Boston Globe and sundry other papers which published extracts from them, underlines a certain change in the nature of the journalistic scoop which has occurred since my own early days in journalism. In earlier days a scoop was not simply an exclusive story, achieved by individual initiative—at its most spectacular level by personal doggedness and courage (Vincent Sheean plodding perilously into the Ruff to find and interview Abd-el-Krim) and on less dangerous levels by special knowledge of some subject, or ingenuity, or careful preparation or relations with someone having access to inside information.

In an age where individual initiative is being replaced by team efforts and improvisation by organization, journalism could hardly be expected to remain an exception to the rule. The one-man scoop is dead. The exclusive story is no longer sought out by a single journalist aiming at a preconceived goal. It is usually not sought out at all. It is handed on a silver platter to a reporter or a newspaper by someone who possesses secret information and wants it to become public and the recipient is as surprised as the eventual reader to find himself suddenly given, out of a clear sky, some unexpected information—such as the Pentagon papers. The new scoop is sensational, but the old scoop was entertaining. I recall from my own experience examples of all the various species listed above:

● The scoop which results from special knowledge:

In his history of the Fighting French, Jacques Soustelle credits me with having exposed the anti-Gaullist conspiracy in French Guiana. But I deserved no credit for it. It was a scoop, I had no idea that anything was happening in French Guiana until a Fighting French representative walked into my office and laid his reports on my desk. If Jacques Soustelle had really wanted to cite a scoop which I worked up personally, he could have listed my story on the significance of the American importation into North Africa of Marcel Peyrou to take over the direction of political affairs there, an act equivalent to handing back to the adversary the territory which had just painfully been wrested from him. I learned about it on the morning of Jan. 18, 1954, from a source no more credible than a one-sentence Associated Press dispatch reporting that the United States was shipping Peyrou to take over the direction of political affairs there. The Associated Press had not elaborated on this, and it touched off no sparks elsewhere, for nobody knew who Peyrou was. I in advance sidestepped it, however, who called bewilderedly to Washington "Who is Peyrou?" at the same time that Robert Murphy, the top State Department representative attached to Gen. Eisenhower's headquarters, was himself calling. Also over Gen. Eisenhower's signature which he was empowered to use, that it was imperative to get Peyrou to North Africa as quickly as possible. Nobody knew who Peyrou was. It happened that I did; and by evening I had parlayed the Associated Press's single sentence into a story which took up most of Page 2 in the New York Post and was bannered on the front.

● The scoop which results from ingenuity:

When I was covering the Japanese delegation at the London Naval Conference of 1930 I was regularly baffled by the success of the Associated Press correspondent on the same beat (his

name, I think, was Eubank) in producing an exclusive story almost every day; it was only after the conference was over that he told me how he did it.

He had previously been an Associated Press correspondent in Tokyo, but for enough back so that none of the members of the Japanese delegation knew him, nor, more importantly, that he had a fluent command of Japanese.

He had observed that whenever a thorny question was put at the daily press conference, the Japanese spokesman, prepared for it in advance, sidestepped it, deftly on his own responsibility; but when an innocuous but unexpected query came up, he telephoned to higher authority for an answer. Having higher authority on the line, he would take advantage of the opportunity to inform them on the difficult questions, which often involved a little chicanery of considerable frankness, since the Japanese took it for granted that none of the British or American correspondents present at the English-language briefing understood Japanese, a language in those days unapproachably esoteric.

Eubank would wait quietly while his colleagues' unanswerable questions were smilingly evaded, and then think up an innocent one which would take the Japanese by surprise and provoke a phone call. He then listened, with a stare of complete incomprehension. Even though he heard only one side of the conversation, he could often come up with pretty shrewd conclusions about what the Japanese answers to the really tough questions would have been if they

had been disposed to answer, and, contrary to diplomatic habit, to answer truthfully.

● The scoop which results from preparation:

I managed only one scoop myself during the Naval Conference, and that one of very mild proportions; it would not have been a scoop at all if the other boys had been on the ball. The Japanese produced one day what they counted upon to be its big news: They announced that they would propose a limit on the size of submarines. "At what level?" I asked, "600 tons?" which was the displacement at which it was generally agreed that a submarine was still an instrument of coastal defense, above that it ceased to be a defensive weapon and became an offensive one. "We were thinking of 2,500 tons," the spokesman answered calmly, and the next day the papers reported that the Japanese had proposed a limit on the size of submarines.

My story was that the Japanese were blocking a developing move to limit the size and range of submarines by the subtle method of putting forward a figure which no operational underwater vessel in the world had yet attained. There were, in fact, only five subs that size at the time, all of them experimental (two American, two British, one French and one Japanese). I had supposed that everybody would have woted for it on "Jane's Fighting Ships" for the conference, but apparently they hadn't. I scored a scoop, but by default.

● The scoop which results from personal relations:

Scoops can be dangerous, especially big scoops. The one which in my opinion was the most important I ever had cost me my job. Once again, I did not deserve the credit for it; the personal relationship which produced it was not mine. The news I related had actually been given by another newspaperman, a friend of mine; for some reason I have forgotten, he was unable to use it. He passed it on to me.

Thus it was on Jan. 20, 1938, if my memory is exact, that I was able to write from the United Press bureau in Paris a story beginning: ACCORDING TO UNIMPEACHABLE SOURCES NAZI GERMANY WILL INVADE AUSTRIA ON OR ABOUT MARCH 15. This was sensational news, and it made big headlines in every country of the world, except one—Germany. On Jan. 21, every German newspaper which subscribed to the United Press service carried the story (paying me \$1,000, a considerable sum at the time) and the German papers came back into the fold.

My article did not identify the "unimpeachable sources," though I had offered them confidentially to my editors, and I do not think they, or mine exactly, it have ever been revealed since. Here is the story:

German Foreign Minister Baron von Neurath, whom the Nazis kept on because he was more respectable than they were, and could be used to placate foreign diplomats publicly enough to believe that he was speaking for himself and not for the Nazis, had "confidentially" tipped off France's ambassador, Andre-François Poncet, that the Nazis intended to take over Austria. "I was fairly obvious," said by this time the Nazis, "that they were not going to be used to placate foreign diplomats publicly enough to believe that he was speaking for himself and not for the Nazis, had 'confidentially' tipped off France's ambassador, Andre-François Poncet, that the Nazis intended to take over Austria. 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